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BOSTON UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL

Thesis

THE HISTORY OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN VIRGINIA FROM 1607 TO 1785

Submitted by

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(A.B., Lafayette, 1924)

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degree of Master of Arts

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INTRODUCTION

RELIGIOUS EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS IN VIRGINIA

The state of Virginia is today faced by the growing problem of its relations with religion and education. State wide policies of non-religious sectarianism and conservative ecclesiastical views, which denounce science and reliance on reason, create a problem by no means small. There is a very real need here to seek the guidance of history, to make a study of the situations upon which the present state of affairs is based and to rechart the intertwining responsibilities of family, church, school, and state from the opening pages of the settlement of the Old Dominion State. This paper will endeavor to perform this service for a period extending from 1607 to 1785.

NECESSARY BACKGROUND

A study of Virginia's religious and educational past must be constructed largely upon the conditions of her heredity and environment. It will be necessary before any adequate conception of the religious history of the state can be obtained to inquire: what type of people made up the early commonwealth; what was their religious background and purpose in settlement; and how did the

geographic divisions of the state affect the religious and educational development of its people?

RELIGIOUS PURPOSE IN SETTLEMENT OF COLONY

In many quarters, at least until quite recently, the general impression has been that Virginia was settled mainly with a view to the discovery of gold and by a personnel of devil-may-care, non-religious adventurers, wanting in that serious purpose of character from which alone great religious and educational achievement springs. The facts in the case are quite otherwise. Although on the surface the principal motive in the first settlement of Virginia lay in practical considerations, a careful study of underlying conditions bring to the fore as objectives of equal if not greater importance, the political welfare of England and the religious welfare of the kingdom of God. As one historian puts it:

> The planting of Virginia had its origin in the patriotic zeal of the people of England to wrest this continent from Spain and build up a great Anglo-Saxon Protestant state in the West.[1]

And back of this patriotism and the thirst for gold there existed:

> A spirit that was eager to extend to the savage inhabitants

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[1] Page, The Old Dominion, Her Making and Her Manners, P.363

> of the new land all the blessings of the Christian belief,[1]

as well as a zealous religious fervor for the propagation of religion as a prominent part of their own lives. In the royal instruction for the government of Virginia, those in authority were enjoined to see to it that the word of God was "preached, planted, and used" among all, not excluding the savages, and in the same list of instructions the settlers were urged to treat the heathen "with unfailing kindness, and to draw them to the true service and knowledge of God."[2] The True and Sincere Declaration published in 1609 went so far as to say that the first object of the plantation was

> to preach and baptize into the Christian religion, and to recover out of the armes of the Devill a number of poore and miserable soules wrapt up unto death in almost invincible ignorance.[3]

This spirit was reflected in the lives of many of the early settlers. The surviving records of the 17th century contain numerous proofs of the strong religious feeling which shaped the opinions of the first Virginians. Apart from this lofty missionary zeal, early accounts of Virginia colonial life picture these pio-

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1. Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, Vol.I P.3.
2. Ibid. P. 4
3. Ibid.

neers animated by their loyalty to the religious observances familiar from childhood. It is generally conceded that the first edifice erected after the construction of the fortifications was the church.

> Daily, the founders of Jamestown attended morning and evening worship prayers and joined in singing a psalm; on each recurring Sunday two sermons were preached before them and once every three months they received the holy communion.[1]

During the administration of Sir Thomas Dale, beginning in 1611, "a sermon was delivered in the church every Sunday morning and during the afternoon there was an examination there in catechism."[2] Moreover, among the first acts passed by the earliest convened Assembly in 1619 were those designed to advance the religious and moral welfare of the people. These and numerous other proofs of early popular religious feeling filled the pages of the histories of this early day. Religion truly formed the basis of early Virginia life and the idea that it did not has grown out of an undue stress upon a certain laxness in the spiritual life of the clergy and members of the State church just prior to the Revolution.[3]

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1. Works of Captain John Smith, p. 36. Arber's ed.
2. Ibid. P.118
3. Goodwin, The Colonial Church in Virginia. Introduction
   Note: This view, in the author's opinion is sustained by the legal records of early Virginia found in Hening's Statutes.

This background in religious theory and practice of the English settlers can be even more strongly emphasized in the early settlements of other race elements which a little later made their appearance in Virginia: namely, the Scotch-Irish, the Germans, and the French Huguenots.[1] Each of the groups had its distinct contribution to make. Each affected the religious educational development of the state as a whole.

GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS VITALLY AFFECTING THE HISTORY OF THE STATE

A glance at an early map of Virginia will show four main geographical divisions: first, the Tidewater, including parts contiguous to the navigable streams; second, the Piedmont, stretching south and westward to the foothills; third, the Valley; and fourth, the frontier or western section of the state which, prior to the Revolution, was scarcely inhabited. These divisions, because of the different races which settled them, and the difficulty of intercommunication which strengthened the distinctive characteristics of each group, affected deeply the educational and religious growth of the state.

The first settlers were the English and their early home was the Tidewater region.[2]

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1. Henneman, Historic Elements in Virginia Educational and Literary Effort, P.6,7.
2. Maddox, The Free School Idea in Virginia Before the Civil War, Pp. 3-5

The life here was an attempted copy of the country life of England, centering in the large estate. This section of Virginia has been called America's Sylvan Venice.

RACE ELEMENTS CONTROLLING THE STATE'S DESTINY

Into the depths of a fertile country for many miles the great bay and salt tide ebbs and flows.[1] The 17th century sea-faring craft could go surprisingly far inland. This convenience delayed the work of breaking good land routes and thus tended to maintain the partial isolation of the great planter estates, around which so many influences of the English in early Virginia life developed. After the discovery of the means for curing tobacco in large quantities, there sprang up a tremendous demand for laborers in the fields and the subsequent importation of indentured servants from England and negro slaves from Africa.[2] With the coming of the servants, and especially the slaves, the social scale became very strongly marked. Life on the Virginia estates resembled strongly that of the English manorial estates.

> Social customs, forms of government, religion, and education were patterned after those of the English if not transferred in identical form to Virginia.[3]

Thomas J. Wertenbaker in his book, Patrician and Plebe-

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1. Heatwole, A History of Education in Virginia, P.21.
2. Fiske, Old Virginia and Her Neighbors, Pp.176,177,190.
3. Heatwole, A History of Education in Virginia, P.2

ian in Virginia, has likened the development of life among the early English settlers in Virginia to the development of chivalry during the middle ages. It is his contention that only a few of the so-called cavaliers were descendant from the first families of England. Rather he stresses the predominance of the merchant class. "These men," he declares, "at first were chiefly interested in building up large fortunes and had little time for other things."[1] It was later, near the close of the 17th century, with a growing slave class and the consequent leisure and wealth, that the Virginia plantation owners turned to literature, music, and politics, thus bringing to Virginia the culture of the old country. Professor Moses Cort Tyler asserts that:

> the early conditions in Virginia constituted a situation out of which evolved country gentlemen, loud-lunged, and jolly, military heroes, men of boundless domestic heartiness and social grace, astute politicians, fiery orators, and culture of all sorts.[2]

Just as a disproportioned emphasis has been placed by some historians upon the immigration to Virginia of the nobility of England, so others have overstressed the influx of England's criminal

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1. Wertenbaker, Patrician and Plebeian in Virginia, P.132.
2. Tyler, History of American Literature, Vol.I. P. 92

class into the new colony. This group was not large and many perished early in the rigorous life of a pioneer community.[1]

The society which developed in the Tidewater section later extended into the Piedmont in a somewhat modified form. As the population advanced to the south and west, wheat, flax, and corn became staples and holdings gradually decreased in size. Immigrants from the northern colonies, who had pushed into the Valley, came into Piedmont from the rear. For the most part they were opposed to slave holding. This element constituted a large and democratic population in the Piedmont section.[2]

This immigration brought the Scotch-Irish, a second race element, into the development of Virginia. About a hundred years after the opening of the Tidewater section, the Valley began to receive this stream of new blood. Their settlements extended along the headwaters of streams flowing in all directions. In these people was a strong love of external scenery. Coming from the north, they brought to Virginia a Puritan element. They were "stern, serious-minded, burdened with consciences, somewhat severe in their aspects of life and in their relations with the world," and prone

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1. Wertenbaker, Patrician and Plebeian in Virginia, P.8.
2. Henneman, Historic Elements in Virginia Education and Literary Effort, P. 6.

to harsh judgments, "but up-right, honest, law-abiding, patriotic, and filled with an intense love of liberty, inherited from generations of Scotch Covenanters."[1]

At about the same time, a German element moved into the southern portions of the Valley and pushed slowly westward. These sturdy settlers were naturally conservative and contented, clustering by themselves to lead thrifty and comparatively secluded lives of a notably religious pietical trend.[2]

The French element in Virginia was never large, but marked in capacity and quite distinct in quality. They settled along the upper James and Appomattox rivers. Groups of these Huguenots scattered to all sections of the colony, the Piedmont receiving possibly the largest share. This group intensified the Puritan and Presbyterian influence.[3]

To the influence of these four distinct racial groups in the religious and educational development of Virginia, must be added two others, the African negro and the American Indian. Although never in control or leadership, these two groups exercised distinct environmental influences in the growth of the colony. In dealing with them, in associating with them, and in occasional marriage with them, certain very ob-

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1. Henneman, Historic Elements in Virginia Education and Literary Effort, P. 6.
2. Ibid. Pp 6,7.
3. Ibid. P. 7

vious reactions can be traced in the educational and religious development of their white contemporaries.

The background of the American Indian as he roamed the hills and plains of Virginia is distinctive and plays a large and important part in the early life of the colony. They lived in a patriarchal manner. Every town was a petty kingdom governed by an absolute monarch. They were almost constantly at war with their neighbors and most of them treated their captives barbarously. They were strong and hearty, and as a race lived for the present. They were in general treacherous, suspicious, jealous, difficult to persuade, hard in dealing, and ingenious in their way in things that they naturally knew or had been taught. They had fairly good notions of natural justice, equity, honor and honesty, to the rules whereof the great men strictly adhered, but the common people would lie, cheat, and steal. The Indians in Virginia worshiped a Sun God, which they called Mohomny. They had Priests, Medicine Men, and Expiations. They allowed polygamy but punished adultery. They hated injury and oppression and instilled even in the young the necessity for revenge and reprisals. Most of the Indians dwelt beyond the mountains but four small tribes made their home on the eastern

slopes. An early historian writing of them declares that

> they seldom caused trouble; though sometimes they pretended to claim their prior right to all the Tidewater and Piedmont sections as Blunt, King of the Tuskaroodaus did, when he told Colonel Spotswood that the country belonged to them before the English came, so he thought they had a better title than the English. To this argument, the governor told him that Mohomny took the ground from them and gave it to us, because we did as he bade us. Blunt asked how the Colonel knew. Spotswood replied that Mohomny sent his son to us, who had lived a long time with us, and told us and taught us what we should do. With this King Blunt seemed satisfied and surprised; and after a pause he said he had talked with several governors and other Englishmen, but he really never before heard that Mohomny had a son.[1]

The recorder of this bit of historical conversation explains that he had related it to show how by degrees after proper methods, the Indians were humored and brought to notions of the true religion.

The background in religious belief, character, and custom of the negroes brought from Africa was even more savage than that of the Indian. They are described as being naturally barbarous and cruel of temper, necessitating severe discipline. They were housed in small cottages called quarters under the directorship

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1. Jones, Present State of Virginia, P.18.

of white Overseers. They seemed by nature well fitted for manual labor and adapted themselves readily to the work of the tobacco fields. Their masters for the most part treated them kindly, their greatest hardship consisting in their lack of freedom. The language of the newly imported ones was a harsh jargon and they were very slow in picking up English, but the second generation grasped it quickly. Hugh Jones says that they fell far short of the Indians, who had learned and seen the same things, and describes them in general as more primitive.[1]

From the growth and development of these various race elements and their gradual commingling of customs and ideals rises the background for Virginia's early religious educational movements.

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1. Present State in Virginia, P.38. Jones.

A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE IN VIRGINIA

A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE IN VIRGINIA.

The early settlers of all the American colonies inherited or brought with them from Europe the idea that there was a vital connection between church and state. This theory was particularly strong in Virginia, where the Church of England was established in the colony's charter and was also formally adopted by the colonial legislature. The Anglican Episcopal Church was known as the Church of England until Revolutionary times. It was also designated as the Established Church, because by legal enactment it was supported by taxation. Moreover, it was expressly designed to be "the organized church" to the exclusion of all others. Even after the Revolution of 1688, which placed William and Mary on the English throne and secured the passage of the Act of Toleration the following year, the General Assembly of Virginia construed the Act to suit itself, and withheld its benefits from Dissenters until they were compelled to yield to force of circumstances.[1]

Religious freedom was slowly achieved as the result of pioneer impatience with old restrictions,

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[1]. James, Struggle for Religious Liberty in Virginia, Pp.9,10.

the unjust severity with which the civil power handled religious questions on many occasions, and the coming into the state of various sects which destroyed the religious homogeneity of the colonies. Among these sects the Quakers and German Lutherans, although comparatively small in number bear mention. The Presbyterians and Baptists, however, were the two religious bodies prominent in the struggle which finally brought about the establishment of religious freedom in 1785.

LEGISLATION BEARING UPON RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN THIS PERIOD.

LEGISLATION BEARING UPON RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN THIS PERIOD.[1]

The above survey of civil authority in Virginia from 1607 to 1785 indicates the important role played by legislation in the field of religious education in the colony during this period. From the very beginning the authorities aimed to maintain "purity of the gospel," "discipline of the church," and "provisions for general education." The latter included religious instruction, the two in this period being inextricably connected in many ways.

LEGISLATION IN REGARD TO RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

In 1619, the first General Assembly convening in Virginia with the purpose of laying a sure foundation for turning the Indian tribes to Christianity, commanded "the authorities of each town, city, borough, and plantation in the colony to secure by peaceful means a certain number of Indian children with a view to bringing them up in a religious and civil course of life." It was their further intention to take a number of the more promising of the Indian youths and fit them for a college, which the Assembly proposed to establish. After graduation from this institution, these students were expected to return to their Indian

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1. Note: Beyond the statement of the legislation, facts explaining why the Act was passed and with what results, will be appended when deemed necessary for further information or clarity regarding a Bill's relation to the development of religious education in Virginia.

kindred as missionaries.[1] The project for the setting up of the aforementioned schools and college aroused deep interest not only in the colony but also in England, where the King himself in 1620 issued an appeal to members of the Anglican church to assist by their contributions in establishing these institutions as well as promoting other pious work in the colony. This appeal resulted in fifteen hundred pounds sterling, which aided in the building of churches and the founding of schools for savage conversion and training. Late in 1620 fifty agricultural servants were transported to Virginia for the purpose of meeting, by returns from their labor, the charge of educating thirty Indians in true religion and civility.[2]

Numerous instances of private gifts and bequests for the advancement of the same general object are recorded in the history of this period. The results of this enthusiasm for religious instruction among the savage neighbors of the early colony met with little success. The English did not understand the Indians and vice versa. For example, the opinion prevailed among the first missionaries that the savage character might be softened by the occult influence of the English prayer book, though not one word of it was

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1. Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, Vol.I, P.6
2. Ibid.

intelligible to the aboriginal brain. On one occasion

> a band of eighteen savages was captured, and were for some time, brought every morning and evening to divine services held at those hours at Jamestown.[1]

The chronicler fails to record any happy results from this experience. One of the noblest of all the missionaries interested in the spiritual welfare of the Indians was George Thorpe. He came out to Virginia to serve as manager of the prospective college suggested by the Assembly's Bill of 1619. He labored with untiring, if at times unwise, zeal only to perish miserably by a blow of the tomahawk in the massacre of 1622.[2] Happily in some few sections of the colony, efforts led by men who had come to understand the Indian and his customs bore the rich fruit hoped for by the members of the first Assembly. The case of the lovely Indian maiden, Pocahontas, is an example of this. Another may be cited in the case of Charles Griffin, "who set up a school near the fort of Christianna." Here he had seventy or more Indian children under his instruction. These children learned to read, recite their catechism, and repeat a number of prayers. The Indians so loved Mr.Griffin that it is reported "they would hug him and lift him up in their arms and fain would have chosen him as king of the

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1. Works of Captain John Smith, Arber's Ed. P.36
2. Heatwole, A History of Education in Virginia, P.65.

Sapony Nation."[1] The massacres of 1622 and 1644 smothered for a very long period organized missionary religious education among the Indians. Each governor, it is true, was given orders to continue the work of conversion, but he followed these instructions with declining zeal. The opening of William and Mary's College, with a special department for the christianization of the Indians revived the missionary spirit near the close of the 17th century, but by this time the aboriginal population had declined to negligible proportions.[2]

Religious instruction was not reserved, however, for the Indian alone. In an Act of the Assembly in 1631-32, every pastor was ordered

> to instruct all the young persons belonging to his congregation in the ten commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the catechism, and the Articles of Belief of the Anglican Church; and should a parent fail to send his child to the church at the appointed time; namely, the half hour before evening service, he must appear before the county court to be censored.[3]

This indicates the minute supervision exercised by the civil authorities over the religious instruction of the colonists. By an Act passed several years later in 1640, the ministers were ordered to catechize, "not only all the children living in their parishes but also all of the servants." In performing this duty the children

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1. Jones, The Present State of Virginia, Pp.14,15.
2. Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, Vol.I, Pp.8,9.
3. Hening, Statutes, Vol.I, Pp.155-157.

and servants were supposed to repair to the church nearest to them, the minister riding from church to church in his parish for purposes of instruction. These periods of religious instruction were held between March 1st and November 30th, the section of the year when the weather in Virginia is at its mildest, and the children in the least danger of exposure.[1]

This instruction was of course augmented by the regular services of worship, held as regularly as possible by the overworked ministers, who were in a number of cases in charge of more than one parish. In a clergyman's absence from his regular pulpit, a clerk was impowered to read the lessons, or the minister was assisted in the performance of this duty by some person specially appointed. By an Act passed in 1660-1, it was provided

> that should a parish be unable to secure a clergyman to preach in the parish church every Sunday, a grave and sober citizen of good life and conversation should be chosen to read the lesson.[2]

These assistants were called Readers. In 1691, Captain Campbell in a petition to the Governor stated that

> the inhabitants of certain counties, dwelling as they did at an extraordinary distance from churches and chapels-of-ease, were unable to be present at public worship; and that it would promote Christian life among the people thus cut

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1. Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, Vol.I, P.187
2. Hening, Statutes, Vol.II P.47

> off, should some one be appointed in each of these places to read prayers and a sermon each Sunday, and that he was willing to convey a plantation of two hundred acres in area for the support of such a reader in each place.[1]

This generous offer was accepted by the Governor and the courts of three counties were directed to take all the necessary steps to carry out this excellent design.

Another interesting if more indirect type of religious instruction which shows the important place of religion in the life of the colony and the minds of its legislators is embodied in the proclamation of Governor Andros in the year 1692, calling for a day of thanksgiving to be celebrated at Jamestown and for a second day of a later date in which the entire colony was to participate. "This," said the Governor, "was for the purpose of reminding the people of the colony's signal blessedness at the hands of a gracious Providence."[2] There are many proofs that this proclamation had the sympathetic approval of the great body of the people, and it was celebrated throughout the colony with feelings of undoubted heartiness and reverence. Again in 1696 and 1698 the Governor issued like proclamations.[3]

These various Acts and proclamations paint in clear relief the recognition by civil authority of the necessity of, and deep interest in the en-

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1. Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, Vol.I P.190
2. The Proclamation can be found in Henrico County Records, Vol. 1688-97, P.415f.
3. Ibid. Pp.321-2.

couragement of, religious instruction.

A great number of Acts strictly puritanical in nature show the close supervision of the state of the moral-religious life during this period.

LEGISLATION IN REGARD TO GENERAL RELIGIOUS AND MORAL LIFE.

In the laws for the ensurance of the proper observance of the Sabbath we find a distinctly religious spirit manifested. Even before the convening of the first Assembly, the Divine and Martial Laws of 1611 contained numerous provisions to compel respect for religion and the different ecclesiastical ordinances. The duty was imposed on every officer to see to the regular attendance of the people on morning and evening prayers. Whoever omitted going to church was punished for the first offence by the lose of his day's allowance; for the second, by a whipping; and for the third, by his condemnation to the galleys for a period of six months. The taking of God's name in an unlawful oath was to be punished by the piercing of the tongue.[1] In 1619, at the First Assembly, a law was passed requiring every citizen in Virginia to attend divine worship on Sunday. The penalty for a freedman was the payment of three shillings, and for a slave, a whipping. A violation of the Sabbath, it seems, might be committed in a

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1. See Divine and Martial Laws, in Forces' Historical Tracts.

large number of ways. A few may be listed as examples.

> It was unlawful to go on a journey except with the view to attending divine services, or performing some duty not to be deferred. Firearms were forbidden use except to resist an Indian attack. Fishing was prohibited. Work in the tobacco was strictly out-lawed.[1]

In 1658 an Act was passed declaring that under no circumstances should it be legal to transport goods by boat on the Sabbath. This was probably aimed particularly against the loading and unloading of the incoming sea-vessels. The penalty for such an offence was either a fine of one hundred pounds of tobacco or confinement in the stocks.[2] The delivery of "writs by Sheriffs" was outlawed for the Sabbath day this same year.[3]

As time passed the enforcement of these Sunday observance laws became more difficult due largely to the introduction into the colony of persons belonging to different dissenting sects, first the Quakers, and later the Presbyterians, Baptists, and Lutherans. After the passage of the Toleration Act by the English Parliament, which allowed all persons to attend their own church, the authorities of Virginia, in response to the general sentiment of the people, continued to enforce respect for the sacred character of the Sabbath. In the year 1699, petitions proceeding from several of

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1. Hening, Statutes, Vol.I P.261.
2. Ibid. P.434.
3. Ibid. P.457.

the counties in widely separated portions of the colony, were laid before the Assembly, in which the request was made that every citizen, to whatever sect he might belong should be compelled on that day to attend some congregation or place of worship. The General Assembly accordingly adopted a law which provided that

> any adult failing to be present at some form of religious service on the Sabbath should be fined five shillings or fifty pounds of tobacco.[1]

These laws rival in sternness and austerity New England Puritanism. The same strictness was not, however, continued throughout the week and into all departments of life as in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, for instance. During the week, amusements and pleasures within the reach of the people were heartily encouraged,

> provided they were not carried to a point dangerous to the peace and moral advancement of the majority.[2]

In the matter of drinking this is particularly noticeable. There seems to have been a strong disposition toward drinking among all classes in Virginia during this period, but open intemperance and drunkenness were strictly outlawed and regulations to restrain this evil were among the most stringent passed by the Assembly. In 1619, the first Assembly passed a law against drunkenness. A first offence was to be

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1. Hening. Statutes, Vol.III P.168
2. Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, Vol.I P.37.

reproved in private by the culprit's minister, a second to be reproved in public, and a third to result in imprisonment for twelve hours. In 1623 the General Assembly heartily confirmed a proclamation recently issued by the Governor for the prevention of the same vice.[1] Again in 1631 another Act was put through requiring a person guilty of intoxication to pay five shillings for every instance in which he was so detected, and in the following year the same penalty was imposed.[2] Various records show that drunkenness was radically condemned in all parts of the colony. By Act of the Assembly in 1657-8, it was declared that no drunkard should be considered capable of holding public office, and three convictions were to be understood as proof of such a character.[3]

The "evil habit of swearing" was also repressed by law. Acts in 1619, 1631, and 1657-8 decreed penalties equal to those decreed against drunkenness. These laws were strictly adhered to, and even under the military regulations prevailing in 1674-5, a soldier who persisted in swearing after he had been convicted of it three times was compelled to ride the "wooden horse."[4] A perusal of the Records of the various Virginia counties reveal the many charges

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1. Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, Vol. I, P.39
2. Hening, Statutes, Vol. I, P.193
3. Ibid. P.433
4. Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, Vol.I, Pp.40-42

brought against those utterings "wicked oaths" and the resulting penalties during the first century after the founding of the colony.

One of the commonest offences contrary to the high moral tone which the Assembly tried to enforce by legislation, was that of sexual immorality, committed for the most part in the lower ranks of life in the plantation sections of the colony. An explanation of this fact is to be found doubtless, in the number of women, who, in search of employment as agricultural and domestic servants, came over, either free, or bound under the articles of indenture. This is borne out by the fact that after the middle of the 17th century, the offences became more frequent, with the rapid increase of the number of female servants at that time imported into Virginia. These women had as a rule belonged to the lowest class in their own countries, and probably did not bring with them very high ideals of virtue, and after their arrival in the colony their contracts could not but render it very difficult for them to marry. In the fields and barns the agricultural servants were thrown into a close and promiscuous association with the servant class of men, and the same was true after the hours of labor, on holidays, and over

the Sabbath. Moreover, many of the Domestics must undoubtedly have been exposed to improper advances on the part of their masters, as they were, by their situation, very much in his power. This laxness, however, was most stringently legislated against. At a very early period, punishment was inflicted for incontinence, even though the guilty parties had afterwards married. The usual punishments were whippings, the payment of fines, penances before the congregation, etc. A conviction for adultery in 1642 was followed by a sentence under which

> both parties to the crime were compelled to throw themselves on their knees in the judge's presence and implore forgiveness; and at a later hour each had to submit to a severe flogging.[1]

In addition to these various punishments an Act was passed in 1657-8 by the Assembly depriving the guilty man of all right to deliver testimony in court or to hold public office.[2]

The authorities showed a like firmness in the punishment of those guilty of slander and defamation of character. In 1662,

> it was provided that anyone setting afloat god-less rumours calculated to disturb the county's peace should pay a fine not to exceed two thousand

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1. Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, Vol.I,P.48.
2. Hening, Statutes, Vol. I, P. 433

> pounds of tobacco and be required to give bond for his good behaviour.[1]

Ducking, flogging, and the begging of the defamed person's pardon in church were other methods of maintaining this set of laws.

A careful study of the legislation during this period, reveals very little bearing on the much written of laxness in morality and character among the clergy of the Anglican Church in Virginia. Godwyn in speaking of them near the end of the 17th and during the 18th century, describes them as "of loose life, unGodly conversation, and entirely unfit as spiritual guides."[2] Another writer accuses them of being, "individually strangers to spiritual religion,"[3] and, "of spending much time in fox-hunting and aping the sports of the aristocracy at home."[4] Undoubtedly these charges and the many others similar have their basis in a modicum of truth.

The clergy in England during this period are reported to have been lax in their spiritual lives. It is natural that some of them should have brought to Virginia this lack in conception of their high calling. At least a certain group of this type must have been in the colony as early as 1631-2, for in

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1. Hening, Statutes, Vol. II, P.109
2. Godwyn, Negro's and Indian's Advocate, P.20
3. Patton, Triumph of the Presbytery of Hanover, P.19.
4. Ibid. P. 20

that year the General Assembly thought it necessary to pass an Act declaring "that no divine should set an evil example by drinking or playing dice or cards;" and again in 1643, it was provided that, should a clergyman conduct himself in a manner unbecoming his profession, the Governor and Council should punish him either by suspension or the inflicting of such other penalty as their judgment suggested.[1] However, it is likely that the intemperate descriptions of Virginia's early religious guides have been exaggerated. For instance, in the case of Godwyn, the puritanical spirit of his book indicates that his criticisms grew out of rigid, austere standards against gratifications in which the church of England saw little real harm if not carried to an excess. No doubt, a good many individual offenders among the clergy made their appearance toward the latter part of this period, among them the Tories, but as a group the ministers of the Established Church, until its fall in 1785 were worthy men, from the viewpoint of character and achievement alike. At least during the 17th century, as all surviving records go to show, whatever may have been the infirmities or unworthy traits of individual clergymen, the great body of those officiating in Virginia were men who perform-

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1. Hening, Statutes, Vol.I, P.157.

ed all the duties of their sacred calling in a manner entitling them to the respect, reverence, and gratitude of their parishioners.[1]

One other action of the Assembly is interesting in this connection. In 1668, that body adopted a Resolution declaring that the numerous sins of the people were such as to provoke the anger of God and draw down his punishment unless they repented in time, and appointed the 27th of August of that year a day of fasting. All persons were warned to cease drinking, gambling, and working on that day under penalty of a severe fine for disobedience.[2] This Resolution presents the conditions of the colony as black, indeed, but a study of records show a comparatively small number of prosecutions, considering the size of the new state and its primitive surroundings. The extraordinary watchfulness and stringent laws of the authorities evidently made themselves felt. This is borne out by the direct testimony of an observer who visited the colony around the opening of the 18th century. He writes:

> The country is full of sober, modest persons, and many that fear God and follow that perfect rule of our Blessed Saviour to do as they would be done by; and if any be known

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1.Goodwin, The Colonial Church in Virginia, P.79.
2, Hening, Statutes, Vol. II, P.265

> either to profane the Lord's Day or his name, or be found drunk, commit whoredom, scandalize or disturb his neighbor, or give offence to the world by living suspiciously in any bad course,- there are for each of these severe and wholesome laws and remedies made and put into execution.[1]

The physical conditions prevailing in early Virginia, including scattered population and and widely separated groups, made educational provision for the colony as a whole, impossible. However, there was a keen interest felt in education during the period from 1607 to 1785.

LEGISLATION BEARING UPON EDUCATION.

A great many notations have been preserved in the Record Books of early Virginia counties, indicating the importance placed on education by the writers of last wills and testaments. These wills designate definite sums of money for the education of heirs and name guardians. At first these appointees were reimbursed for advances; but by an Act passed in 1656, no person performing these duties thereafter was permitted to receive any allowance from court for money paid by him for the education of any child under his care. There are numerous proofs that many guardians were appointed and the Act strictly enforced.

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1. Force, Historical Tracts, Vol.III, P.16.

That the religious spirit was at the root of much of this provision is revealed by a perusal of a number of these last testaments. For example, in 1686, David Williams, of Isle of White County, instructed his executors "to keep his sons under a teacher's care until they could read the Bible with facility."[1]

A further interest in education is shown in the numerous private schools for the benefit of all possessing the means to send their children to them. And as early as 1642, the Assembly passed a special Act, signifying that the endowment for a free school in Virginia, made by Benjamine Symmes, be put to the use so designated, "thus recognizing his godly disposition and good intent."[2] Records of a number of other free schools follow this one.

That the teachers in these schools in early Virginia were held to fixed standards of competency and morality is evident, for in 1686, a Proclamation was issued and sent to the farthrest corners of the colony, requiring all school masters residing in Virginia, to attend the General Court at the next meeting at Jamestown in order to present testimonials of competency from their parish's foremost citizens. In addition to this proof of academic fitness, they were

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1. Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, Vol·I.P.303f.
2. Heatwole, A History of Education in Virginia, P.44.

called upon to show that they were upright, and sober in their lives, and conformable in their religious opinions to the doctrines of the church of England.[1] This is but an instance of the general supervision which the civil authorities exercised over all the school masters and the content taught in the different schools.

Beyond the laws to govern these elementary schools, we find a number of grants, bills, etc. regarding institutions of higher learning. On page 18 of this thesis, mention is made of the dream of a college for the instruction of the Indian youth. This dream may be said to have attained at least partial fulfillment in the establishment of William and Mary's College. The Assembly granted a charter to this school in 1691.[2] The idea was an offspring of the genius of the English race in northern and eastern Virginia. The objects assigned were

> to the end that the church of Virginia might be furnished with a seminary for ministers of the gospel and that the youth might be piously educated in good letters and manners, and that the Christian faith might be propagated among the western Indians to the glory of Almighty God.[3]

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1. Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, Vol.I.P.334
2. Fiske, Old Virginia and Her Neighbors, P. 116.
3. Hening, Statutes, Vol. I, P.9.

An important department was the Divinity School over which two instructors presided, teaching in Hebrew, and in the "Commonplaces of Divinity." The President of the College lectured on theology once a week.[1] It was a college for both church and state. In its chapel there assembled bands of college youth, conventions of the church, and bodies of legislators. But in spite of the avowed purpose of the school, the atmosphere was not too favorable for the production of ministers. The town of Williamsburg, in which it was situated,was the center of style, luxury, social graces, law courts, and colonial government. The emphasis within the college gradually came to be placed, more and more, on state-craft, political economy, and law.

William and Mary was not the only school of higher education to be granted a charter during this period. As early as 1749, Augusta Academy was organized in the Valley section under the influence and to answer the need of the growing Scotch-Irish contingent in Virginia. In 1776, the Academy was incorporated under the title Liberty Hall, and later developed into the present Washington and Lee University. This second institution for higher learning was established at Lexington, as much a center of

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1. Heatwole, A History of Education in Virginia, P.82.

culture for the settlers of the Valley as Williamsburg for those of the Tidewater section. The founder of Augusta Academy was a Pennsylvanian by birth, reared under Scotch-Irish influence and a student under the Presbyterian ministers at Princeton. The purpose of this school was much the same as that of William and Mary, but the mental activities of the scholars were directed mainly to theology and metaphysics. This college has turned out Congressmen, judges, heroic soldiers, and a few authors; but the great majority of graduates here prepared themselves to serve as ministers of the gospel.[1]

One other charter was granted in 1775 to Prince-Edward Academy, later renamed Hampden Sidney College. Its background and history is much like that of Augusta Academy, with a strong religious emphasis, mainly Calvinistic.[2]

LEGISLATION DEALING WITH THE STRUGGLE TO ENFORCE CONFORMITY

Down to the passage of the English Act of Toleration, there was, with the brief exception of a short period during the reign of James the 2nd, who granted freedom of worship to all sects, a determined struggle to enforce conformity to the Church of England on the part of the Govern-

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1. Henneman, Historic Elements in Virginia Education and Literary Effort, P. 13.
2. Ibid.

ment of Virginia.[1] The Assembly with its conception of the close union between church and state, felt that one of its most important duties was to enact legislation designed to protect the Established Church against dissention, and to punish those guilty of defying this legislation by entertaining religious tenets and following other rules of worship and studies of religion than those authorized by the Anglican canon. As early as 1606, in the Royal instructions to the Virginia, we find the command

> to teach all English settlers and the savages, according to the doctrines and rites of the Church of England alone.[2]

In 1611, the Divine and Martial Laws required,

> every man and woman then residing in Virginia or who should thereafter arrive, to make a candid confession of religious belief; if found to be deficient in religious knowledge, then he or she, as the case might be, was directed to apply at once to the minister for the proper instruction; and should the person fail to do so, then the penalty was to be whipping daily until compliance was proven.[3]

Likewise Governor Wyatt in 1621 was ordered to maintain in Virginia the form and spirit of the Church of England as near as might be, and in 1639, he received further instructions to regulate the religious affairs

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1. James, The Struggle for Religious Liberty, in Virginia, P. 17.
2. Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, P. 216.
3. Force, Historical Tracts, Vol. III, P. 17.

of the people by the English ecclesiastical laws and statutes. Following this, in 1641, Berkley was enjoined by the English Privy Council to see that "God Almighty was duly and daily served," according to the framework of religion represented by the Anglican Church.[1] The effect of these instructions may be traced in the numerous Acts passed by the Assembly throughout this and later periods. During the session of the first Assembly a law was passed requiring every citizen of Virginia to attend the Anglican Church on pain of punishment, and a few years later, in 1623-4, the body declared that all religious services held in Virginia should be required to follow as closely as possible the canons of England, both in substance and form.[2] Again in 1628 the General Assembly affirmed the Act of 1623-4, and one year later ordered every clergyman occupying a living in Virginia to pay the strictest obedience to these rules or submit to severe punishment.[3] As the years passed, intolerance for any but the religious teachings of the Established Church grew. In 1643, the Assembly decreed that all individuals who refused to join the Anglican Church should leave the colony, and that any pastor who had not been ordained by the English Bishop should be prohibited

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1.Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, Vol.I,P.216f.
2.Hening, Statutes, Vol. I, P. 123
3.Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, Vol.I,P.217

from preaching in Virginia.[1] In 1660 there was a large number of persons residing in the colony who rejected the doctrine laid down by the Book of Common Prayer, namely that by baptism the infant is regenerated with the Holy Spirit. This opinion made them the brunt of sharp denunciation. They were described as "schismatical persons, governed by the new-fangled conceits of their own heretical inventions." Whoever refused to baptize his child was compelled to pay a fine.[2] Severer laws were passed in 1663, intended for the first group of Dissenters that arose in Virginia, the Quakers. From this date forward to the Act of Toleration in 1699 and even thereafter the struggle with the different bodies of Dissenters was waged until the bell of religious liberty finally rang out in 1785.

Of non-conformists found in Virginia, during the first half century after the settlement of the colony, the most important in point of numbers were the Quakers. A study of the various enactments against them at this time throws light on several unique religious teachings which furnish powerful reasons for legislative opposition to this sect. In the first place, this new religious body aroused suspicion by their secretive manner and method of service. Meeting together in some

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1. Hening, Statutes, Vol.I P.277
2. Ibid. Vol.II P.166.

out of the way spots, because of persecutions, they followed no regular ritual and employed no definite religious content but often sat silent until the spirit moved them. This unusual proceeding suggested to the Anglican mind the idea of secret societies inclined to scheming against the colony. Secondly, the Quakers desired and claimed their right to immunity from the paying of tithes for the support of the State Church establishment,on the plea that they were required to provide for their own clergymen. Thirdly, in these early days, one of the most important duties of a good citizen was the defence of the community in the hour of internal strife such as Bacon's Rebellion or external attacks from Indians and other nations. When, therefore, this sect arose embodying within its religious teachings a demand for freedom from all military service on the ground that its members were opposed to all forms of war, the General Assembly saw its weakening influence on the defence life of the colony. Fourthly, a rule of the sect strictly forbade the showing of formal respect to persons in authority. Such a religious tenet was quite naturally looked upon with suspicion by those in authority, as a possible deep-seated hostility to the government. Moreover, the Quakers dropped

LEGISLATION BEARING UPON DISSENTERS AND THEIR STRUGGLE FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

the formalities of the Anglican liturgy and spoke to the spirit in the language of every day, their appeal being personal, urgent and emotional.[1] All this found ready response in the sympathies of a number of the influential members of the colony and to a considerably larger extent among the lower classes of society. The result, so the Assembly felt, was a lessened loyalty to the Government and the Established Church. In the light of these reasons, it is surprising that the persecution was not more harsh. In 1658 it was enacted that every Quaker should be banished from the colony.[2] The General Court entered an order prohibiting all masters of ships trading with Virginia to import any persons of this sect. In 1659 sheriffs were commanded to attend wherever a Quaker was to address the people and warned them to disperse. Also the owners of plantations were forbidden to allow such meetings to be held on their land or among groups of their servants. These restrictions, however, seemed to increase the popularity of the Quakers' appeal. In 1660 the Assembly thought it necessary to issue a strong denunciation of them, and as a means of discouraging all persons disposed to receive the Quaker missionaries in their homes, it was provided, that whoever gave private entertainment to one of them, should be

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1. Bruce Institutional History of Virginia, Vol.I P.225
2. Hening, Statutes, Vol.I. P.532

liable to a considerable fine. Two years later a statute is entered upon the legislative books to the effect that the Quakers' meetings in ever greater numbers, were spreading terror among the people and endangering the public peace. Enactments against them were halted by the issuance by James the Second, of his famous Declaration for Liberty of Conscience and Indulgence in Religious Matters. In 1687, Governor Howard received instructions from the Privy Council to proclaim the Declaration in Virginia.[1] The Quakers were, in consequence, of necessity acknowledged to have a right to hold openly their religious services and to teach religion according to the guidance of their consciences. A little later in 1699, the passages of the Act of Toleration furthered the license afforded this sect, but strangely enough this freedom resulted in a distinct decline in the number of new converts, The persecution had evidently been just sufficient to attract attention and loyalty to the new faith. At the end of the seventeenth century, after a good many years of free worship and free propagation, the number of their congregations is reported to have shrunk to three or four.[2] During the years of their persecution their principles and religious teachings may be said to have played a considerable part in the life and religious development of the colony.

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1. Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, Vol.I P.224
2. Jones, Present State of Virginia, Sec.11.

Two other dissenting sects, against which legislation was aimed during this period, were the Papists and the Puritans. Opposition was perhaps bitterest and most deeply rooted against all those acknowledging themselves to be Roman Catholics. The religion of the Papist carried with it, necessarily, a recognition of the absolute spiritual supremacy of the Roman See. It denied that the King of England was head of the Church and set up a foreign potentate in his stead. It was generally accepted by the English, that the Pope's principal design regarding all things British,was to overthrow both spiritual and civil order. A member of that church, therefore, was feared and hated, as a matter of principle. It was most carefully enjoined in the charter of 1609 that

> the oath of supremacy, which asserted the spiritual headship of the King of England over all his subjects, should be tendered to every one seeking to land in Virginia.[1]

An instance of the carrying out of this clause in the colony's charter, is shown in the refusal, in 1629, of the authorities to receive Lord Baltimore and his companions upon their refusal to agree to the above oath. An Act passed a few years later, forbade any office in the colony being filled by a Papist.[2] We find uncompromising

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1. Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, Vol.I P.265
2. Ibid, P.266.

antagonism against this sect cropping up even in the early articles of indenture. For example, in 1655,

> John Dodham of Westmoreland, by the terms of his contract with Jane Duke, agreed to bring up her son, just apprenticed to him, in the Protestant religion, and in doing this, to be careful that the boy should be taught the correct prayers and also how to read the Bible and other pious books printed in the English language.[1]

Further enlightenment as to the strong prejudice against all things Papish, is the oath required by the state of its Protestant ministers before they are allowed to preach. It demanded that a divine swear

> first, that there was no transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; secondly, that the invocation and adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any other saint, and the sacrifice of the Mass as then used in the Church of Rome, were superstitious and idolatrous; thirdly, that this declaration was made in the plain sense of the words as understood by English Protestants, without any dispensation granted him for the purpose by the Pope, or any hope of such dispensation; and, finally, that he did not think that he could be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration, should the Pope or any other person, or power, whatsoever, annul the same from the beginning.[2]

With the Puritans, however, the case was quite different. The early tone of the Church of

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1.Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, Vol.I P.267.
2.Ibid. P.273-4.

England in America was distinctly Calvinistic and it was not until 1630 that a reaction really set in. Under the influence of Governor Berkeley this growing antagonism found vent in an Act in 1643 for the preservation of the Established Church's unity and purity of doctrine by the order that every minister residing in Virginia should conform to all of its canons.[1] Of course, during the Puritan supremacy in England, all opposition to Puritanism on the part of the State ceased, but as soon as Charles the Second ascended the throne, a rigid Act of uniformity was again passed by Parliament, and the Puritans in Virginia became almost as distinct a sect of Dissenters as the Papists. Unlike the Quakers, they did not thrive under persecution. Many left the colony and a large group passed over into the Established Church, the gap between the two in Virginia, as far as principles went, not being great. The Act of Toleration gave the few remaining freedom in 1699. The influence of the Puritans in Virginia on the moral and spiritual life of the colony was never very distinctive. If they introduced into their social life the strict austere habits of their New England brothers, we have no proofs of the facts left to us. It is probable that the only noticeable difference between the Puritans and those of the

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1. Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, Vol.I. P.254f

Anglican faith was formal in character, namely a rejection of the Epsicopal Book of Common Prayer, and the Baptismal Sacrament.[1] No doubt, partly to their influence can be traced the marked reverence for religion and respect for law which modified the generous, liberal, and abounding life of the colony.

But among these and others dissenting from the Anglican Church and its religious doctrines, members of the Presbyterian and Baptist Churches stand out as the great leaders in the struggle for religious liberty which was to take religious instruction out of the hands of the state and state church and consequently alter materially the content of religious education for over half of the people of Virginia. The Presbyterians and Baptists did not find a foot-hold in Virginia until practically all forms of religious persecution had come to an end. This allowed these sects to grow and multiply in numbers and to spread their distinctive doctrines. Consequently they came to occupy an important position in the colony and a great proportion of the legislation along religious lines during the 18th century is concerned with the struggle for religious liberty waged by the Presbyterians and Baptists against the established order.

Presbyterians from the north pushed into Virginia as early as 1683. Their leader, Makemie,

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1. Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, Vol.I, P.259-60.

a man of typical Scotch-Irish character, fervid piety, strong intellectuality, and vigorous will-power, was an excellent choice to cultivate the Calvinistic teachings with success in the difficult circumstances found in Virginia from 1683 to 1688, and to take advantage and claim the privileges of the Act of Toleration. It is suggested by several historians, and probably with a large degree of accuracy, that this man occasioned the incorporation of the Act of Toleration into the Virginia Laws. In the year 1699, he applied to the county court of Accomac for a certificate or license to preach under that Act. At the death of Makemie in 1708, Presbyterianism waned in Virginia until 1732 when sixteen families moved into the Great Valley. From this date on immigration was rapid. These incoming Calvinists asked the Presbyterian Synod of Philadelphia to intercede with the Council of Virginia in their behalf to ensure the enjoyment of religious and civil liberty. The reply to this request was favorable. In the year 1738 the Council promised these new settlers that no barrier would be placed between them and the enjoyment of the English Act of Toleration. It also granted them the privilege of attempting to achieve larger liberty consistent with the peaceful attitude toward the government.[1] Up to 1775, the date of the

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1. Johnson, Virginia Presbyterianism and Religious Liberty in Colonial and Revolutionary Times, P.28.

French and Indian War, the controversy between the new sect and the General Council lay in the licensing of new Presbyterian ministers and in the number of houses of public worship permitted Dissenters under the Act of Toleration. The war turned the attention of the Council from internal strife. Moreover, the ready response of the Presbyterians to the call to arms did much to heal the breach between them and their brothers of the Anglican faith. Their patriotic service to the colony struck a strong blow toward religious liberty. Thenceforth, the General Court, although still claiming the prerogative of granting papers of qualification to Dissenting ministers and licenses for preaching places, granted such permits for the asking. Anotherstrong factor favoring claims of all Dissenters lay in the quarrel between the clergy of the Established Church and the Council, 1755-1763. The question in case concerned the amount of salary to be paid to the clergymen of the English Church. They appealed to the King over the heads of the Virginia Council.[1] This attitude and the resulting legal strife considerably lessened the influence and teaching effectiveness of the Anglican Church. The rise to influence of the Baptist congregations in Virginia is in essential details a replica

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1. Johnson, Virginia Presbyterianism and Religious Liberty In Colonial and Revolutionary Times, P.36

of the history of the Presbyterians. They first entered the state about 1714 and grew in force slowly but steadily. Their enthusiasm, evangelism, and fearless propaganda, and criticisms of the Established Church were influential with the masses at the same time that it brought persecution from the State Church.[1] The record shows, interestingly, that Patrick Henry, whose mother was a Presbyterian, employed his powerful advocacy and oratory more than once successfully to defend imprisoned Baptists from the "heinous charge of worshipping God according to the dictates of their own consciences."[2]

In the year 1770, these two sects began their petition struggle for religious liberty.[3] This struggle must be accounted of deep significance in the religious educational history of Virginia. With

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1. James, The Struggle for Religious Liberty, Introduction, and first two sections of the book, namely, "Before the Revolution," and "During the Revolution."
2. Henry, Life, Correspondence, and Speeches of Patrick Henry, Vol. I, P.119.
3. For Presbyterian Petitions and Memorials see, The Presbyterian Church in U.S., Chapter I.
   For Baptist Petitions and Memorials, and others mentioned see, James The Struggle for Religious Liberty in Virginia.

Note:- Substance of Presbyterian and Baptist Memorials-- "No man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burdened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess what they will, and this shall in no wise effect their civil capacities." Henry, A Reply to Dr. Stille upon Religious Liberty.

the Established Church in control it was lawful to instruct in the Anglican catechism only. Places for public worship for those who founded their faith in other Christian Creeds than that of the State Church - were few and uncertain. The Legislative battle waged by the Presbyterians and Baptists from 1770-1785 resulting in the Jefferson Bill for Religious Liberty, therefore, opened the way to a widened field and scope of content in religious educational instruction.

Laws against Atheism and Witchcraft appear so infrequently upon the legal records of early Virginia that one is naturally led to the conclusion that neither played a very important part in influencing the religious thinking of the colony. However, in 1699 there is an Act which proclaimed that a denial of the existence of the Deity or the Trinity, or an assertion that there were more Gods than one, or that the Christian religion was false, or that the scriptures were of human and not divine origin, should subject the person guilty to incapacity to hold public office, or imprisonment. There are on record only two cases of punishment, by legal authority, for Witch-craft and these by flogging and ducking.[1] The law passed in 1655 with regard to punishment for slander was evidently very effective in

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1. Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, Vol.I,P.277

discouraging reports of Witch-craft.

One Bill during the year, 1784, was introduced bearing directly upon religious education. It was a bill establishing a provision for teachers of the christian religion. Its preamble, expressing for the most part, the desires and wishes of the Established Church, reads:

> Whereas the general diffusion of Christian knowledge hath a natural tendency to correct the morals of men, restrain their vices and preserve the peace of society,which cannot be effected without a competent provision for learned teachers, who may be thereby enabled to devote their time and attention to the duty of instructing such citizens as, from their circumstances and want of education, cannot otherwise attain such knowledge; and it is judged such provision may be made by the Legislature without counteracting the liberal principle heretofore adopted and intended to be preserved by abolishing all distinctions of preeminence among the different societies or communities of Christians.[1]

In opposition to this the majority in the colony speak in accord with the Presbyterian Document of refutation. Quoting several passages:

> We oppose the Bill, because it is unnecessary and inadequate to its professed end, and a direct violation of the Declaration of Rights. The end of civil government is to

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1. Johnson, Presbyterianism and Religious Liberty,P.108

> to protect the free exercise of religion, but religion is altogether too personal, and the right of exercising it too unalienable, to resign it to the will of society at large, and much less to the Legislature. We are fully persuaded of the happy influence of Christianity upon the morals of men, but we have never known it, in the history of its progress, so effectual for this purpose, as when left to its native excellence and evidence to recommend it, under the all-directing Providence of God, and free from the civil hand. This bill would reduce all religions to one standard and it naturally opens the door for contention among citizens of different creeds and different opinions.[1]

The Act passed to its third reading. It was then sent out for public examination. Sentiment against it as expressed in the Presbyterian Document was overwhelming and it failed to become a law.

It was inevitable that the various dissenting doctrines taught and the struggle for religious liberty should affect the religious instruction of the time. More than all else it resulted in increased stress upon doctrinal differences held by the various sects.

This list of legislative acts is by no means exhaustive, but supplies representative Bills on religious education during this period.

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[1]. Johnson, Presbyterianism and Religious Liberty, PP.110-115

STATUS OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN VIRGINIA DURING THIS PERIOD

Family religious life with emphasis upon catechizing held a place of considerable importance in many of the homes of the Anglican English throughout this period. In contrast to the strict puritanism of their New England and Dissenter brethren, most of the writers about this period, picture them as neglectful of serious matters. Romantic tales of dancing, drinking, and dueling have erased from memory the more spiritual side of the life as it was lived by the family and dependents of the wealthy Virginia planter. A few writers, however, throw light upon this phase of the colony's home development. Edwin Goodwin parallels the life to the following picture of England.

AMONG ADHERENTS OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH

> The Bible was the one book of the people, read in every home where the art of reading had been attained. Its influence upon character was incalculable. Its doctrines formed the convictions, its stories tempered the dispositions, and its diction moulded the very language of the commonalty.[1]

A glance at the Biblical expressions in the books and papers of the Virginians of this period will confirm Goodwin's last contention. Bishop Meade supplies us with another quotation:

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1. Goodwin, The Colonial Church in Virginia, P.7.

> Although there was no such thing as family prayers at that day, yet was the catechism taught in a great many families of the church. Pin-cushions to the girls and trap-balls to the boys were sometimes given as a reward for accuracy in the saying it to the minister. My mother also, as was the case with many others, made her children get and repeat some of the hymns of the prayer-book, and I recall how a Mr. Phil Nelson used to hear his children the catechism every Sabbath morning before breakfast.

This instruction coupled with moral discipline was provided for the slaves and servants of the household as well. The statement of Governor Berkeley concerning religious education in the colony in 1641 would infer this.[1] In conjunction with this instruction, certain moral and ethical qualities of character were grounded in the characters of the sons and daughters of these Virginia gentlemen. These included a high sense of honor, bravery, abounding hospitality, pride, at times worthy and again arrogant, reverence for womanhood, and splendid generosity.[2]

Besides this parental instruction in religion and supervision of moral development, the children of the higher classes in Virginia had a number of cultural advantages in their home environment which the growing wealth, leisure, and isolation of the planters

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1. Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, Vol.I.Pp.24-25
2. Wertenbaker, Patrician and Plebeian in Virginia, first section, "The Aristocracy."

and plantations made possible for them to a greater extent than was the rule in other American colonies in these early days. Practically every estate supported a library of considerable size. Religious books formed one of the most ordinary entries in the inventories of the libraries of personal estates. There were few indeed that did not boast a couple copies of the Bible, The Book of Common Prayer, a Psalter, and The Whole Duty of Man. Books of sermons were numerous, and many other books including Pilgrim's Progress, Moral Gallantry, etc.[1] These books were highly valued by their owners. So much was this the case that quite frequently their owners bequeathed them by name to their friends and children. As the 17th century drew to its close, the increase in slaves and wealth made possible, likewise, the purchase, by not a few of the planters, of really fine pieces of art, among which their children grew up. This was, likewise, true in the realm of good music. Perhaps unconsciously but no less surely did this background of beauty and fineness enter into the religious and cultural training of these young Virginians.

It was also the custom for those who could afford it to retain tutors in their homes, or if this were not possible to send their children to the

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1.Hening, Statutes, Vol II, P.517

homes of friends.[1] Sometimes, when the planter's family was a large one, he would cause a school house to be erected for this purpose close by his residence, or it formed a part of the house. These tutors, or private teachers supplied both elementary and secondary educational instruction while the boy and girl remained under home control. However the influence of the tutors was naturally of considerable importance in the developing life of the children under his care. These instructors were obtained from various sources. Some came directly from England as freedmen for this purpose, but not infrequently they were under indentures. Among the latter were some who had become involved in trouble in England and an occasional one is listed as "criminal." Another source from which these tutors were drawn was the clergy class. The number of ministers acting as tutors increased near the end of the 18th century but was never very large, as their regular ministerial duties generally occupied their full time.[2] The scholastic standards of practically all of these instructors in private families, was excellent. Often they were graduates of the best schools of England, and frequently they carried their pupils beyond the rudiments of knowledge into wider

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1.Heatwole, A History of Education in Virginia, P.57.
2.Wells, Parish Education in Colonial Virginia, Pp.22-27

fields, giving them all the education which, at that time, could be attained outside of an English College.[1] Their stress upon the religious interpretation of this knowledge and their emphasis on a good moral life, we have very little record of. However, Jonathan Boucher, M.A., one of the abler private tutors writes to George Washington concerning the education of his ward, John Custis,

> This is a part of education which I think of more importance than all ye rest. When children are taught betimes to bear misfortunes and cross accidents with becoming fortitude, one half of ye evils of life afflict them not. Education is too generally considered merely as ye acquisition of knowledge. But surely this is but a partial and imperfect account of it, and ye aim of education should be not only to form wise but good men, not only to cultivate ye understanding but to expand ye heart to meliorate ye temper, and fix ye generous purpose in ye glowing breast.[1]

It is probable that this view of their calling was held by many of these tutors.

Instruction for the members of the lower classes in the homes of this period was of course much more limited. Governor Berkeley's report in 1671 on conditions in Virginia in answering the question, "what course is taken about instructing the people in the Christian religion?" stated rather well the policy

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1. Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, Vol.I.P.323
2. Boucher, Letters to George Washington, P.10

followed by Anglican Virginia during this period. He said,

> The same course that is taken in England out of town, everyman according to his ability instructing his children and seeing to it that the indigent are taught.[1]

Among the negroes, the master of the plantation or some person under his orders, catechised the children born in this country, taught them short prayers and disciplined strictly against swearing, lying, intemperance, stealing, and cheating. This religious education was by most masters faithfully performed during the 17th century. Toward its close and during the greater part of the 18th century, we have incidents of falling away from this ideal. Several historians recount cruelty and neglect of the slave by their masters, and a Quaker author calls them to account for not giving the slave religious instruction,

> because of the difficulty and trouble involved, and the fear that it may stir up strife on the plantation.[2]

Among the indentured servants, Sunday was given them as a holiday and instruction and worship in religion required of them at the churches at this time.

One other type of moral and educational instruction within the home was that given to

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1. Hening, Statutes, Vol.II,P.517
2. Ibid. Vol. IV, P.212

the apprenticed class. The chief plan of education in Virginia during this period was a system of compulsory aprenticeships to give training in a trade, schooling, and moral instruction to dependent children and to those whose parents were negligent or unable because of poverty, to give them an education. The Law of 1727 states this with great clarity.

> That if it should happen, that the parent or parents of any child or children, upon due proof before the court of the county, wherein such parent or parents inhabit, shall be adjudged incapable of supporting and bringing up such child or children in Christian principles, that then it shall and may be lawful upon certificate from the said court to put out for service such a child, the four reasons for such apprenticeship to include the better up-bringing of otherwise uncared for children.[1]

Hugh Jones tells us that in 1724 the colony was never tormented with vagrants because the poor were bound out as apprentices until able to maintain themselves with labor and that by that time they had been taught by their masters a trade, the three r's, and to be God-fearing and law-abiding. Some of the apprenticeship laws required the masters to instruct in the Christian religion the children bound to them and in accordance with this provision the indentures often stipulated

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1.Hening, Statutes, Vol. IV, P.212

that the apprentice should be taught sofar as to be able to read the Bible.[1]

In the homes of the non-conformists to the Anglican Church, religious instruction was a daily diet. To the heads of the family among the Dissenters, it was all important that their children and any few servants employed be instructed in what they believed to be the true doctrine as opposed to the State Church belief. Their method and content of religious education followed closely the example set by the Northern colonies. An insight is afforded us into the home training and customs of Dissenters by John Nelson, a Rector of the Established Church at this time. While he affirms vehemently that their pious actions were hypocritical and but outward show, he nevertheless presents us with a long list of Christian virtues as practiced in their homes. He writes:

AMONG DISSENTERS

> They act in their dealings in the home and abroad as though they have consciences and a desire to live religiously.....They have a seeming veneration for the Holy Scriptures, teaching people to search them and their children and servants to understand them...They take the greatest care and constant endeavor to manage their lives and that of their children, so as to do

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1. Hening, Statutes, Vol. I.Pp.260,261

> nothing visibly evil save resist the government.....Their looks are solemn and their hands often up-lifted to heaven. They speak slowly and talk much on religion.....They decry sin in others, intemperance, and debauchery, and avoid even the occasions which lead to disorder.[1]

With the majority of Dissenters, Calvinistic ideas held sway. The child was instructed that he was wholly depraved and that he was unable to help himself. This was coupled with the doctrine of Predestination. Their instruction not only included this harsh theology but it was emphasized by severe discipline with stress upon corporal punishment. The method of religious teaching was chiefly catechetical and sermon repetition. In contrast to the Anglican custom, family prayers were the rule and private prayer was stressed for each member of the household. The amount of religious instruction was large in practically every Dissenting home; the quality differed according to the education of the parent. The cultural advantages were for the most part missing from the child's home influence, art and music being frowned upon as of the Devil and lack of money limiting the supply of books. However, one book occupied a prominent place in practically every home, The Holy Bible.

Education outside of the home, among the well-to-do classes in Virginia of all faiths, was

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1. Nelson, The Countermine, Pp.35-39

carried on in three institutions, schools in England, Virginia private fee schools, and Virginia colleges. For the poor free schools were established.

SCHOOLS IN ENGLAND.

Among the wealthy Anglican class, especially before the establishment of William and Mary's College in 1691, the disposition was to send their sons to England for the completion of their education, not only because of the superior educational advantages of the mother country but because in England the young Colonials could enjoy influences which would broaden their minds. A considerable number, in spite of the dangers of the voyage, were sent over sea and attended the foremost schools and colleges of the mother country. Some parents feared the dissipations which might seduce youth and inexperience, and there was always, of course, this danger in the long separation. Many of these young gentlemen returned to Virginia to take places of leadership in colonial life. It is significant, however, for our purpose, to note that few of them returned as ministers of the gospel. Statesmen and litterateurs predominated.[1] Religion, evidently, was not placed first in their education.

Just below the wealthy class of plan-

1.Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, Vol. I,Pp.316-322

tation owners in Virginia, was a large number of both Anglican and Dissenter families, who could not afford private tutors. A great proportion of the children from these households, received an education in private fee schools, many of which came to be known as Old Field Schools. The name was derived from the establishment of the school houses in old fields at a spot within reach of every boy and girl in the whole neighborhood. In some cases the school house was also the teacher's residence.[1] The majority of persons keeping these neighborhood schools were clergymen, who endeavored thus to increase their incomes. These men were, on the whole, very competent, having received their training in English schools, and it was natural that they should turn their time to conducting schools for the benefit, both intellectually and spiritually, of the children of their congregations. The Readers who, from time to time, were appointed to fill the places of the clergymen temporarily or permanently, very frequently performed the duties of a teacher in these countryside schools, likewise. As an additional proof that the teachers of these schools, even when not drawn from the ministerial class, were competent we find one of the strictest of the require-

VIRGINIA PRIVATE FEE SCHOOLS.

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1. Heatwole, The History of Education in Virginia, Pp.48-50

ments found in the twenty-seventh clause of Howard's Instructions on his appointment:

> that no teacher arriving from England should be allowed to follow his profession unless he could submit to the authorities a license granted him by the Bishop of London.[1]

All direct evidence regarding subjects taught in these schools of the period, shows that they were the branches commonly taught in the vernacular schools of the time; reading, writing, and arithmetic. A few also instructed advanced scholars in languages, algebra, and grammar. Although religion is not listed as definitely prescribed as a subject of instruction, it is probable that the teachers followed the universal custom of the day in the use of religious material in reading. This is particularly probable when the Instructor was at the same time the parish minister.

Edgar W. Knight records that the text books in use in Virginia Schools were mainly religious and moral in purpose; few secular books being employed before the beginning of the national period. Hornbooks, primers, the Psalter, the Bible, and the Catechism were the text books commonly employed. The New England Primer, essentially a religious and moral miscellany of verse and prose, was popular. These books were used

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1. See page 35, notation (1) on this thesis.

primarily as reading books and as means of giving religious instruction.[1] An early will provides for a gift to procure testaments, Psalter, and religious primers for several schools, and another report in 1724 declared that children in private schools were catechized regularly, the Anglican catechism being employed for this purpose. Heatwole also records a certain crude moral disciplinary code upheld in these schools:

> In these schools prevailed a certain crude and severe, yet natural and wholesome discipline. Of rewards there were none. Of punishments, I remember but one, the tingle on the back from the ruler the horse whip or the leather strap. Telling was shameful, even if one had to bear another's punishment. Outside of keeping quiet and behaving we had a good deal of liberty.[2]

The method of teaching followed closely the "rote" theory:

> Our tasks were set in the book and we 'said them' from the book usually word for word.[3]

VIRGINIA COLLEGES AND ACADEMIES.

In 1691 a charter was granted to William and Mary's College; in 1749, one to Augusta Academy; and in 1775, one to Hampden Sidney College. The first accommodated the Anglican members of the faith, and the second and third, the Dissenters.

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1. Knight, Public Education in the South, P.43
2. Heatwole, History of Education in Virginia, P.111
3. Ibid.

The emphasis upon classical and theological education was much stronger in the Academies of the Dissenters than in the Anglican College of William and Mary. While the latter turned out predominantly graduates trained in the art of state-craft, Augusta Academy and Hampden Sidney directed the genius of their institutions toward producing an educated ministry.[1]

Following the founding of these three institutions other colleges, and Academies followed rapidly.[2]

Not all the schools in Virginia during this period were private or only for those who could pay a tuition fee. When Virginia's early royal governor, Sir William Berkeley, anxious, no doubt, to secure his place with the lately restored Stuarts, reported in 1671 to the Lord Commissioners of Trade and Plantations on conditions in the colony, "Thank God there are no free schools,"[3] he gave rise to a misconception which has followed and stigmatized Virginia ever since. As a matter of fact, there were free school foundations practically from the colony's inception. The earliest plan of a free school was for the benefit and Christian-

FREE SCHOOLS IN VIRGINIA.

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2. Knight, Public Education in the South, Pp.81-88
3. Conway, Free Schools in Virginia, P. 1
1. Note: Refer to pages 33-37 of this thesis for a discussion relating to these conclusions.

ization of the Indians.[1] The second, designed for the colony's white children, about 1620, was known as the East Indian School. This like the first died in the Indian massacre of 1622. The second attempt, however, influenced Benjime Symmes to found his free school in Virginia. By the end of 1647, the school seems to have been resting upon a firm foundation.[2] Thomas Eaton's endowment of an even larger free school followed. Each school was under the control of a board of trustees composed of the clergymen and church wardens of the parish and the justices of the county court.[3] This suggests the close supervision of these schools by ecclesiastical authority. A number of other free schools sprang up in the colony in the wake of these first two. The instructors in these free schools were of the same high academic standing as those teaching in private schools. The course of study followed the private schools, with the possible exception of less advanced work. Religious instruction held a prominent place, following the lead of the private schools.

In comparison with the records left by her New England sister colonies during this period, the lack of actual mention of religious teaching in sources dealing with education in colonial Virginia, and

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1. Conway, Free Schools in Virginia, P.1
2. Heatwole, A History of Education in Virginia, P.44.
3. Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, Vol.I p.354

during the Revolutionary period, is very noticeable. Most of the educational foundations imply but do not state a religious purpose. Probably the fact that the Virginia schools were not independent and original creations by the colony but copies of English forms where the teaching of religion was accepted as a definite part of the curriculum,[1] and the church authorities maintained the strictest control over the schoolmaster,[2] may account for the mention and stress on religious instruction seeming of less importance. Surely there is little doubt that, besides furnishing their children with a secular education, they assumed that the schools would teach religion.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN THE ANGLICAN CHURCH

Instruction in religious education in the Anglican churches from 1607 to 1785 was provided for in the Acts of 1631 and 1640 requiring ministers in the various parishes to instruct first the children and later the servants, also, in the ten commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Catechism, and the Episcopal Articles of Belief.[3] Hammond's practical catechism was, no doubt, in popular use.

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1. An account of a charity school, published in 1709, "The chief design for English schools is the education of children in the rules and principles of the Christian religion as professed and taught in the Church of England."
2. Heatwole, A History of Education in Virginia, P.9.
3. Hening, Statutes, Vol.I, Pp.155-157.

The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography describes it, a bit vaguely, as extending over the fundamental points of the Christian religion.[1] In addition to this instruction, Goodwin refers to the use made by the ministers of The Book of Common Prayer, familiar anthems and petitions of the daily offices, the stately cadences of the liturgy, and the evangelical strains of the communion service.[2] The Hebraic method of repetition was the method in common use. The effectiveness of the instruction depended largely upon the personality of the minister and the associations which he built up around the learning process carried forward under his care. This brings up once more the question of the character and ability of the Anglican clergy, discussed at some length on Pages 30 and 31 of this thesis.

The practical government of the church, decisions as to its doctrinal views, and how these should be taught during this period, were in the hands of a local aristocracy, the Vestrymen. The church's efficiency depended largely upon the character and unselfish zeal of these men. The office was generally filled in a highly worthy manner. So far as we can judge from the scant records which remain to us, they performed their duties conscientiously, and with a sin-

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1. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Co.11, P.52
2. Goodwin, The Colonial Church in Virginia, P.7.

cere desire to conserve the religious and moral interests involved. Many of them were men of real piety, to whom the spiritual welfare of themselves, family and neighbors was a matter of sincere concern. Under their guidance the church came to be an indispensable institution for the preservation of morality, good order, and decorum.

The church builsings during this period were built commonly from fifteen to twenty miles apart. The purpose was to have a church within reach of all the population of the parish, and from eight to nine miles was considered easy walking distance in those days. These long distances necessitated the holding of but one worship service a Sunday. There were generally two churches in a parish and the parson would officiate at his churches alternately. These church services were looked upon as social as well as religious occasions. A typical service brought together a representative colonial group. On a fair Sunday the open space in fromt of the church must have presented an animated scene. The gentry in their carriages or on horseback would ride upon the scene in state, and the deference due social standing would be accorded them. The small farmers would arrive in humbler equipages, while tenants and laborers would drift in mostly on foot. Here the social amenities of the whole neighborhood would find

opportunity for expression. Gossip would be exchanged. The minister would go in and out among his flock, dispensing counsel and aid. Some half hour or so after the appointed time, according to another good old Virginia custom, the minister would be seen emerging from the Vestry house garbed in his flowing robes and surplice. The congregation would file into the church instrict order of precedence, the gentry proceeding to the front of the church. The minister would read the "whole liturgy," the Clerk and those owning prayer books making responses. If there was any singing it was probably confined to several psalms, which the Clerk would line out and lead, with the aid of a tuning-fork. The sermon was apt to be long and dry, but somewhat familiar from frequent repetition. These sermons no doubt appealed strongly to natural religion, the question of man's corruption and depravity being ignored for the most part.[1] The influence of the church began to decline toward the time of the Revolution, but for the greater part of this period, it constituted a very powerful factor in the religious education of the various parishes.

Public worship and instruction as carried on by the different sects of the Dissenters, was an uncertain affair for the greater part of this period. Many had no church. Meetings were held at

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1. Goodwin, The Colonial Church in Virginia, P.89-90.

different homes or in the open air. Some even preached from jail house windows. Near the middle of the eighteenth century, many churches were incorporated. For the most part in these institutions the religious education was for the adult, the child being cared for, in his religious instruction, at home, daily. One main item of difference between the Dissenter's worship service and that of the Established Church lay in the spontaneity and lack of form on the part of the Dissenters. Extemporaneous prayers, never heard in the Church of England, were popular religious forms of expression not only for the minister but also for members of the Dissenter congregations. Especially was this true of their "prayer-meetings". A satirical but vivid picture of the leader of one of these prayer services is painted by Rector Nelson. He writes:

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION AMONG THE DISSENTING FAITHS.

> The minister advanced to the pulpit and having fitted the cushion to the most commodious posture for the elbows, he pulled out his handkerchief, with the intention of later wiping off the sweat. Next giving his uncanonical cloak a twitch or two, he began by rolling his eyes about as if in a trance but gently recovered himself in prayer. This he began in a low, slow voice, but as the holy fire of his zeal rose gradually by motion to gather heat, he advanced still higher, till at length being thoroughly warmed, his brain appear-

> ed to boil over, and he tumbled out expressions with ardor and precipitation. Now, though he pretended to hate all forms, yet he was not without method and therefore began with confession and told God Almighty a parcel of sins which many there were not guilty of and had not even thought of.[1]

This amusing description emphasizes the fact that the worship services of the Dissenters were more emotional and personal than those of the Established Church. A description of a service drawn from a more sympathetic source, lays peculiar stress upon the sermon and lists the order of service to include, scripture reading, Psalm singing, extemporaneous prayers, and the sermon, Readers frequently reading the sermon when a preacher was unattainable. "Considerable numbers attended these services," says this author,[2] "and they listened with eager attention and awful solemnity." Calvinistic theology coupled with strict principles of morality formed the basis of the lengthy sermons. Davies lists four important differences in teaching from the tenets of the State Episcopal Church; namely, emphasis on the depravity of human nature, the necessity for regeneration, its prerequisites, nature and effects, and finally the various exercises of pious souls. The State Church from the view point of the Dissenting sects in Virginia, was

1. Nelson, Countermine, P.83

dead. To them, they felt, came the challenge to preach a living faith.

SUMMARY

The state of Virginia began with a small group of Englishmen, identical in race, tongue, and nationality, and cemented together with common religious ideas. The purpose in the settlement of the Colony combined a patriotic zeal in spreading the power of the mother country, and commercial enterprize, with an earnest desire to extend the blessings of Christianity to the savages in a new land.[1]

The settlers received a charter from the King of England and set up a colonial General Assembly wherein the Church and State organizations were closely intermingled. As time passed the people began to push westward, further and further from the centralized control of Church and State along the coast. Germans, Scotch-Irish, and French from the North, poured into the Valley and trans-mountain sections. In these sharply marked geographical divisions, with little intercommunication possible, the early homogeneous population underwent many changes. There arose variations in loyalty to the Established Church, partly because the descendants of the first settlers became careless, and partly because of the infiltration of Quakers, Baptists, Presbyterians, Lutherans, and others who held ideas dif-

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1. Refer to Pp. 3 -6

fering from those of the early settlers regarding church government and the fundamentals of the Christian gospel.[1]

The influence of these factors upon the religious education of the growing colony gradually led the way from that first group with its set charter and definite plan for religious training, into the open road of religious liberty.

The Virginia settlers early gave evidence of their earnestness in matters of religion by attempting to provide for the religious instruction of the Indians - an attempt which met with scanty success. They displayed, likewise, in the first days of the colony, a widespread interest and loyalty in the Established Church. Religious instruction for the young and ignorant was emphasized throughout the period covered by this thesis, the Bible being revered as the rule and guide of life. Much of this religious instruction was given in the home. Among the wealthy planters, catechetical, liturgical, and Biblical content was supplemented by exceptional literary and aesthetic advantages. With the less fortunate, largely slaves, servants, and apprenticed classes, the law required catechetical and moral training. Outside of the home, the Anglican State

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1. Refer to Pp. 6 -13

Church recognized its responsibility for the religious training of the young and the ignorant. The first General Assembly ordered every pastor to instruct the young people and servants of his parish in the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the catechism, and the Articles of Belief of the Anglican Church. This religious education was supplemented by at least one service of worship each Sunday. The catechetical instruction and pastor's sermons held predominantly to a stress on moral duties rather than much in the way of speculative truth. Religious literature intended for the young was, as a rule, beyond their comprehension. The "rote" method was accordingly adopted.[1]

The schools of early Virginia were few, due to scattered population. Private fee schools, and endowed free schools predominated. These institutions, often taught by Pastors or their Readers, were under the guidance of church authority and included religious education in the curriculum of the school.[2]

The General Assembly of the Colony exercised a careful watch over the church in an endeavor to maintain the purity of the gospel. Intolerance for non-conformity grew with the arrival in Virginia of dissenters from the belief of the Anglican State

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1. Refer to Pp. 18 - 23, 55 - 64
2. " " Pp. 33 - 37, 64 - 70

Church.

During the 17th century, Virginia was marked with some persecution of Dissenters, Quakers, Puritans, and Papists, but on the whole and in comparison with many of her sister colonies, moderation was shown by those in authority.[1] The Assembly likewise displayed a careful, almost puritanical watch over the morals of its people in their observance of the Sabbath and general matters of moral up-rightness.[2]

The most important factor in the growth of the colony, religiously, in the 18th century came with the influx into the state of new race elements, predominently Calvinistic in religious doctrinal faith. With their coming, the absolute spiritual authority of the State Church was challenged seriously and the resulting struggle ended only in 1785 with the passage of the Thomas Jefferson Bill for Religious Liberty, and the overthrow of the supremacy of the Established Church. The new element entering the state was distinctly non-conforment. Religious instruction among this group was a duty of grave importance. The Calvinistic catechism, coupled with strict puritanical discipline, formed a daily diet in every home and religious education became a vital part in the life of a child of

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1. Refer to Pp. 37 - 41
2. " " Pp. 24 - 33

non-conformist parents. Religious instruction in Dissenting churches was largely confined to the enlightenment of adults, through the Pastor's sermon and extemporaneous participation by lay members in prayer and praise. Stern but live Calvinistic doctrines instilled new life, of a spiritual and moral nature, into a colony of dying church forms, while their strict puritanism was somewhat broadened and softened by the liberal spirit which it found in its Virginian environment.[1]

The resulting strife stimulated doctrinal teaching in the content of religious instruction. Urged forward by a stimulus for ministers and teachers of the two sects, Anglican and Calvinistic, higher education moved ahead in the establishment of three excellent colleges; William and Mary, Augusta, and Hampden Sidney. The 18th century is likewise marked by a struggle for the right of each man to worship as he willed and to instruct his children in the religious tenets he believed to be true and Godly.[2]

So the colony's religious life developed and finally through and out of the clash of varying religious views, emerged, at the close of the Revolutionary War a new and free state with Liberty as

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1. Refer to Pp. 52 - 64, 74 - 76
2. " " Pp. 41 - 53

her key note. The record books of the period closed with the ink still wet on the words of the Jefferson Bill, claiming the separation of church and state, yet with the vitalizing influence of religion still under-girding state and school as well as church and home.

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